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Message Text

SECRET

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43
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W
---------- 110075
P 301029Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6526
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 8352

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CY, GR, TU.
SUBJECT: GREEK REQUEST FOR BHUTTO'S MEDIATION

1. FOREIGN SECRETARY AGHA SHAHI BROUGHT ME UP-TO-DATE THIS MORNING ON RESULTS OF HIS TRIP TO ANKARA AND ATHENS ON THE CYPRUS MATTER.

2. SHAHI REVIEWED BRIEFLY HOW PAKISTAN HAD FIRST BECOME INVOLVED IN THIS MATTER AS RELAYED TO ME BY BHUTTO ON AUGUST 16, AND REPORTED IN ISLAMABAD 7919. AFTER THAT DATE KARAMANLIS HAD TOLD THE VISITING PAK AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS THAT HE STILL WANTED BHUTTO TO TRY TO PLAY A ROLE AT SOME APPROPRIATE TIME AND THAT HE WOULD LET BHUTTO KNOW. AFTER THAT THERE HAD BEEN ANOTHER DIRECT CONTACT WITH BHUTTO BY THE GREEK SOURCE WHO FIRST CALLED BHUTTO AND IS STILL DESCRIBED ONLY AS "THE FRIEND." KARAMANLIS APPARENTLY RELAYED MESSAGE THAT TIME WAS NOT RIGHT FOR BHUTTO PERSONALLY TO TAKE A HAND BUT TO PLEASE STAND BY FOR FURTHER WORD. SHORTLY THEREAFTER BHUTTO DECIDED TO SEND AGHA SHAHI ON A FACT-FINDING TRIP TO GET BETTER ACQUAINTED AS TO JUST WHERE THINGS STOOD. HE SAID HE HAD RECEIVED WORD FROM BHUTTO TO DEPART WITHIN THREE HOURS NOTICE AND COULD NOT SEE ME BEFORE HE WENT.

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3. SHAHI SAID THEY FELT THE TURKS MIGHT MISUNDERSTAND

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IF HE WENT TO ATHENS FIRST SO HE WENT BY WAY OF ANKARA.
HE SAID HE WAS VERY IMPRESSED WITH ECEVIT. HE SAID
HE SENSED NO TRACE OF COCKINESS OR SENSE OF VICTORY, BUT
RATHER WHAT HE FELT WAS A SINCERE DESIRE FOR EARLY
SETTLEMENT. HE SAID ECEVIT SEEMED FLEXIBLE ABOUT SOME
WITHDRAWALS AND HAD MADE THAT POSITION PUBLIC HE FELT
DUE TO EXCHANGES WITH THE SECRETARY. ECEVIT SAID,
HOWEVER, HE COULD MAKE NO SPECIFIC STATEMENTS, AS
KARAMANLIS APPARENTLY DESIRED, ABOUT SPECIFIC WITHDRAWALS
IN ADVANCE OF NEGOTIATIONS. ECEVIT SAID HE DID NOT
WANT DOUBLE ENOSIS OR PARTITION, AND WONDERED WHETHER
KARAMANLIS MIGHT IN FACT WANT DOUBLE ENOSIS OR TWO-
THIRDS OF THE ISLAND. HE SAID THERE HAD BEEN A LACK
OF SERIOUSNESS ON THE PART OF THE GREEKS IN GENEVA
WHO APPARENTLY FAVORED POSTPONEMENT OVER ANY DESIRE
TO COMMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE OF TURKISH PROPOSALS.

4. SHAHI SAID HE DID NOT CONSIDER HIMSELF IN MEDIATING
ROLE IN ANY WAY, BUT NEVERTHELESS DID WHAT HE COULD TO
SUBTLY EXERT PRESSURE WITH REFERENCE TO WORLD OPINION,
TURKEY'S POSITION WITH GREAT POWERS, ETC. HE HAD
SUBSTANTIVE TALKS THEREAFTER WITH SECRETARY GENERAL
OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND AMBASSADOR BALUKAM IN WHICH HE
AGAIN MADE IT CLEAR THAT BHUTTO HAD NO REAL DESIRE FOR
ANY MEDIATING ROLE, BUT WOULD TRY TO HELP IF THAT WAS
WANTED IN GETTING THE PROPLE TOGETHER IN A MANNER THAT
DID NOT IVOLVE HIM IN THE DETAILS OF A SETTLEMENT. HE
SAID THE TURKS TOOK THE VIEW THAT BHUTTO'S FRIENDSHIP
FOR KARAMANLIS MIGHT BE USEFUL. THE POINT WAS MADE THAT
TIME MIGHT COME WHEN COMPLETE OUTSIDER, LACKING THE
INHERENT INFLUENCE OF GREAT POWER REPRESENTATIVES, MIGHT
BE USEFUL. SHAHI SAID HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY THEM TO
GO TO ATHENS. SHAHI SAID HE TOLD THEM HE HOPED THEY
FULLY APPRECIATED THE DEEP WOUND FOR GREECE THAT THE
EXPECTED TO FIND ON HIS VISIT THERE.

5. SHAHI WENT TO ATHENS ON AUGUST 23, WAS MET BY
UNDER SECRETARY AT THE AIRPORT AND TAKEN RIGHT AWAY
TO KARAMANLIS. KARAMANLIS ASKED SHAHI WHAT ATTITUDE
AND SPIRIT HE FOUND IN ANKARA. SHAHI TOLD HIM THAT IT
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SEEMED CONSTRUCTIVE AND SERIOUS, AND REPEATED SOME OF
THE THINGS MENTIONED ABOVE. HE SAID ECEVIT SEEMED
TO SEINCERELY HOPE THAT WITH THE RETURN OF CIVIL RULE
TO GREECE, AND HIS OWN ACCESSION TO POWER, THAT THINGS
COULD BE WORKED OUT FOR A LASTING PEACE ON THE ISLAND.
SHAHI SAID THAT KARAMANLIS HAD RESPONDED THAT ECEVIT HAD
ALMOST BROUGHT ABOUT HIS POLITICAL ASSASSINATION. WHEN
SHAHI ASKED FOR EXPLANATION, KARAMANLIS APPARENTLY SAID HE

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COULD BE UNDERSTANDING OF THE FIRST ACTIONS OF THE TURKS
IN VIEW OF THE STUPID ACTS TAKEN BY HIS MILITARY PREDECESSORS,
BUT THAT HE WAS FURIOUS THAT THE TURKS HAD BRODEN THE CEASE
FIRE SO FLAGRANTLY AFTER HE HAD ASSUMED OFFICE. HE SAID
THIS HAD PUT HIM IN AN IMPOSSIBLE POSITION BEFORE THE GREEK
PEOPLE AS HE HAD HAD TO TAKE A PUBLIC POSITION WHICH
SHOWED THE WEAKNESS OF GREECE. WHEN SHAHI SUGGESTED
THAT PERHAPS ECEVIT MAY HAVE BEEN HAVING SOME

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W
---------- 108880
P 301029Z AUG 74
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6527
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 ISLAMABAD 8352

EXDIS

TROUBLE WITH HIS GENERALS, KARAMANLIS RETORTED THAT
THE SAME WAS TRUE OF HIM AND THAT HE HAD JUST FIRED
ABOUT A DOZEN. KARAMANLIS APPARENTLY SAID THAT THE
TURKS MUST MAKE SOME GESTURE AND ECEVIT SHOULD STOP
SAYING BUBLICLY WHAT HE THOUGHT HE (KARAMANLIS) SHOULD
DO. IF ECEVIT WOULD ONLY TAKE ACTION TO WITHDRAW TO
AUGUST 9 POSITIONS THINGS COULD HOPEFULLY BE WORKED
OUT. HOWEVER, TO ENTER TALKS WITHOUT SOME GESTURE WOULD
BE INTERPRETED BY THE GREEK PEOPLE AS OUTRIGHT
CAPITULATION, AND HE COULD NOT BE PUT IN THAT POSITION.
KARAMANLIS ASKED THAT HIS VIEWS BE RELAYED BY SHAHI TO
ECEVIT. SHAHI REPLIED THAT THAT WOULD PUT HIM IN A
MEDIATING ROLE BETWEEN TWO HEADS OF STATE, THAT HE
CONSIDERED THIS WOULD BE CONTRARY TO HIS FACT-FINDING
MISSION FOR BHUTTO, AND THAT IF PAKISTAN PLAYED SUCH A
ROLE CLEARLY IT SHOULD BE ON THE PRIME MINISTER LEVEL.

6. KARAMANLIS MADE REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT 200,000

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REFUGEES HAD LEFT THE NORTHERN AREAS, AND ASKED HOW THIS
COULD BE JUSTIFIED. SHAHI SAID HE WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION
THAT THE TURKS WERE NOT FORCING THEM OUT. KARAMANLIS
THEN ASKED IF HE WOULD TAKE UP THE REFUGEE PROBLEM WITH
THE TURKS. SHAHI HAD REPLIED THAT THIS WOULD RAISE
THE SUBJECT OF THE PLIGHT OF TURKISH ENCLAVES
AS WELL, TO WHICH KARAMANLIS MADE NO COMMENT.
KARAMANLIS REPEATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE BHUTTO TO
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PLAY A ROLE, BUT WOULD LEAVE TO BHUTTO THE MANNER
IN WHICH HE APPROACHED THE TURKS AND WHETHER SHAHI
SHOULD GO BACK TO ANKARA. IN MEANTIME, HE SAID HE
WOULD CONTINUE TO THINK OF EXACT ROLE BHUTTO
MIGHT PLAY, ACU ASKED SHAHI TO LEAVE THEIR VISITING
AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS FOR FUTURE CONTACT.

7. SHAHI HAD HAD FURTHER CONVERSATIONS WITH POLITICAL
UNDER SECRETARY TSOUNIS, WITH SHAHI SAYING THAT HE FELT
THERE WOULD BE FIRM REJECTION IN ANKARA IF THE GREEKS
INSISTED ON WITHDRAWAL BEFORE TALKS. SHAHI SUGGESTED
THAT PERHAPS THE FIRST IMMEDIATE PROBLEM WAS TO DO
SOMETHING ABOUT DISPLACED PERSONS. HE SAID PAKISTAN HAD
HAD A LOT OF EXPERIENCE ON THIS SUBJECT AND HAD COME
TO KNOW THAT ONCE PEOPLE LEFT THEIR HOMES AND PROPERTY
OTHERS MOVED IN WHICH WERE THEN DIFFICULT TO DISGORGE.
HE SAID FROM THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE THE SITUATION VERY
QUICKLY REACHES PROPORTIONS WHICH IT IS DIFFICULT FOR
ANY POLITICAL LEADER TO HANDLE, AND THEREFORE IMMEDIATE
SOLUTION SHOULD BE SOUGHT.

8. SHAHI SAID HE HAD CONVEYED SUBSTANCE OF HIS TALK
IN ATHENS TO THEIR AMBASSADOR IN ANKARA, ASKING THAT
HE TALK TO THE TURKS. SHAHI HAD APPARENTLY GIVEN
EMPHASIS TO HIS TALKS ABOUT TURNING ATTENTION IMMEDIATELY
TO THE PLIGHT OF THE REFUGEES, LIFTING OF SIEGES, ETC.
HE APPARENTLY MADE THE SUGGESTION THAT IF SOME MOVES
COULD BE MADE ALONG THESE LINES PERHAPS KARAMANLIS COULD
INVITE BHUTTO TO PLAY SOME ROLE WITH THE TURKS. HE HAD
RECEIVED A REPLY THAT THE TURKS WOULD GIVE SERIOUS
CONSIDERATION TO THE CONTENTS OF SHAHI'S TALK IN ATHENS.
SHAHI SAID AT THAT POINT HE DECIDED TO CME HOME. BHUTTO
HAD ASKED HIM TO BRIEF ME AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, BUT
HE HAD BEEN ILL IN BED SINCE HIS RETURN.

9. SHAHI SAID NOTHING HAD HAPPENED SINCE THEN EXCEPT HE
HAD HAD A MESSAGE TODAY THAT KARAMANLIS WAS SEEING THE
PAK AMBASSADOR IN ATHENS AND HE EXPECTED A PHONE CALL
FROM THE AMBASSADOR AT 1430 HOURS TODAY.
BYROADE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARBITRATION, NEGOTIATIONS, PEACE PLANS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 AUG 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: martinml
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974ISLAMA08352
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740241-0181
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974085/aaaaadmf.tel
Line Count: 222
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: martinml
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAY 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <12 MAR 2003 by martinml>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GREEK REQUEST FOR BHUTTO'S MEDIATION
TAGS: PFOR, CY, GR, TU, (SHAHI, AGHA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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